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ABSTRACT

The "Chicago School" is the communications legacy left by late nineteenth and early twentieth century Chicago sociologists and journalists. It represents a research tradition of participant-observation and urban journalism concerned with the quality of urban life, as well as a commitment to solving urban problems through civic involvement and journalistic and social enlightenment. John Dewey, Jane Addams, Robert Park, and others of the Chicago School saw urban communications as a key to the study of society and the resolution of issues. For them, the ideal sociologist was one who knew the city, explored it, and thought of ingenious ways to gain insight from it. Chicago-style research experienced a decline between the late 1930s and the mid-1960s, but the explicit techniques of the Chicago School--a combination of communication and social action--have been rediscovered in the past 20 years. There is now frequent acceptance and use of qualitative approaches to journalistic research and practice, such as the urban and environmental critic who not only observes urban life, but also evaluates its quality. There is also the continuing practice of gathering news through both undercover and identified personal reportorial experience in places like mental hospitals, schools and prisons, welfare agencies and nuclear plants. Furthermore, contemporary practicing journalists are using personal participation to reveal the communications process in news-gathering. Thus, the qualitative research tradition and communication theory of the Chicago School are no longer dormant. (RL)

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QUALITATIVE STUDIES DIVISION

THE QUALITATIVE LEGACY OF PARTICIPANT-OBSERVER APPROACHES AMONG SOCIOLOGISTS AND JOURNALISTS FROM THE CHICAGO URBAN TRADITION

by

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Sociologists, Social Workers:Communications Link
for Campus Scholarship and Community Service

Community and communications were inseparable for the "Chicago School" of Sociology. While for sociologists, communication was "the fundamental basis of human existence and upon it all social activities were dependent"(Belman 1975:16), community action and civic commitment through communication and research by social workers put theory into action to improve the quality of urban American life at the turn of the century.(White 1962) That qualitative tradition has been shared with journalists and communication researchers and revived in recent years (Burd 1978) inspired by or indirectly influenced by the early and close ties of the "Chicago School" and Jane Addams's Hull-House.

As a bridge between campus scholarship and community service, the communications and research of sociologists and settlement workers were concurrent and interrelated. The peak of Addams' influence--from 1889, when she moved to Hull-House--to 1935--when she died--coincided with the dominant period of the Chicago School, 1892-1935.(Mullins 1973). One historian noted "It was no accident that the new University of Chicago, which was founded just a few years after Hull-House came to the center of sociological study in America, and that so many of its professors were intimately associated with Hull-House--Albion Small and John Dewey. . . .and thereafter two generations of academic reformers." (Commager 1961:ix)

Small, a historian himself who set up the sociology department and brought men like E.W. Burgess and Robert Park to the university, advocated civic involvement and critical research to insure the quality

of human freedom.(Becker 1971). He urged students to go out and study, serve and live in local communities. "There is little likelihood", he wrote," that men who personally observe actual social conditions . . . instead of speculating about them in the study, will want to fold their hands and let social evil work out its own salvation".(Small & Vincent 1894:374). With the new Hull-House already trying to salvage Chicago, students from the new university found the settlement a place to study and observe and act on social problems: immigrant minorities in the ghetto, homeless men on Skid Row, delinquent youth gangs, and crime, vice and poverty among the saloons, sweat shops and what the new sociologists considered social disorganization.

As for faculty, "A number of them lived in settlement houses, like Burgess, who had lived at Hull-House".(Raushenbush 1979:182) Addams told how those "early efforts of the settlements in research gradually made for a cordial cooperation between the social workers and the university men".(Addams 1930:406) That "early companionship between the settlements and the Universities has been described by Charles Beard 'as exerting beyond all question a direct and immediate influence on American thinking about industrial questions, and on the course of social practice.'"(Addams 1930:406-407)

Hull-House:Where Participation and Observation Merged

Hull-House residents saw it as a "university", modeled after London's Toynbee Hall (a "community of university men")by Jane Addams, who saw residents' relations in her house "not unlike those of a 'college professor' to his colleagues."(Addams 1910:309). The House was an early University extension center, she was on the extension staff, the House held classes on English, drama, art, music, homemaking and other voca-

tions, and her blend of theory and practice was "a protest against a restricted view of education".(Addams 1910:295). She had come to the House in 1889 "without any preconceived social theories or economic views"(Addams 1910:xvii,Preface) and did not want to "reproduce the college type of culture but to work out a method and an ideal adapted to the immediate situation".(Addams 1910:300) Her pragmatic combination of a "school of citizenship and social service"(Commager 1961:xii), appealed to "Chicago School" professors like John Dewey (who was at Hull-House frequently and who named his daughter after Jane Addams), and who saw the House as a model for progressive schools which would not separate learning and action.

Addams avoided any religious or political dogma of indoctrination, and once referred to the House as "an information and interpretation bureau".(Addams 1910:126-127) The wife of University of Chicago student Ernest C. Moore, new bride Dorthea Moore who came to live in the House in 1896 while he wrote "The Social Value of the Saloon", wrote that the House "standsnot so much for a solution of problems as a place of exchange".(Davis & McCree 1970:56) Alice Hamilton, first female medical professor at Harvard, House resident until 1919, who died at age 104 in 1970, wrote in her autobiography of how the settlement brings wholeness and "the wisdom that comes from life experience" rather than formal education. She recalled when London School of Economics political science professor Graham Wallas, speaking to University of Chicago philosophy professor George Mead at the House, in regard to sociology Ph.D. theses, said "Now look at these careful, meticulously detailed studies of Chicago overcrowding, of housing, of recreation, but never once a bird's-eye-view of the whole."(Davis & McCree 1970:106)

For students and faculty, Hull-House was a place for personal

participation, observation and interchange in a wholistic setting. Dewey saw the House as "primarily, not that of conveying intellectual instruction, but of being a social clearing-house. . . where ideas and beliefs may be exchanged . . .(and) incarnated in human form and clothed with the winning grace of personal life."(Davis & McCree 1970:106)

Early social work researchers at Hull-House tackled personal and human problems like child labor, poor housing, disease, infant mortality and truancy. As early as 1892, Florence Kelley worked with federal authorities on a slum study. She felt the House should be even more involved in solving problems. Later Illinois first chief factory inspector, she was described as one who "blended knowledge of facts, wit, satire, burning indignation, prophetic denunciation."(Davis & McCree 1970:109) She combined practice and theory in the field.

"The work of Jane Addams and her associates at Hull-House was primarily practical, but it prepared the way for the more theoretical urban sociology of Robert Park; who acknowledged the exploratory value of the social workers' labors, of studies like Hull-House Maps and Papers which appeared in 1895. . . .(White 1962:159) "The settlements had antedated by three years the first sociological departments in the universities. . . . so that in a sense we were the actual pioneers in field research", wrote Miss Addams. "We based the value of our efforts not upon any special training, but upon the old belief that he who lives near the life of the poor, he who knows the devastating effects of disease and vice, has at least an unrivaled opportunity to make a genuine contribution to their understanding."(1930:406-406)

"The technique used by the researchers was for the most part participant/observation and differed from the muckrakers' exposes in that the settlement workers knew the slum dwellers through daily inter-

action".(Oberschall 1972:216) Some of it was autobiographical, as were the accounts of the first and second 20 years at the House by Jane Addams, who mixed participation and observation, who did not separate learning from living nor herself from the House nor it from the community. When the frustrated ex-newspaperman Park entered sociology, he had left muck-raking investigation of urban problems, and was "disillusioned with the idea that newspaper reporting of social problems could alone solve them, and he sought more knowledge about their basic nature".(Frazier & Gaziano 1979:5) Although he sought more sophisticated empirical techniques to study both the press and urban problems, he still urged students to "live" their research via participant/observation as at Hull-House.

"Seat of Pants" Research by "Marginal Men"

Park told students that if "grubbing in the library" among "musty stacks of routine records" was getting their "hands" dirty in real research, they should "go get the seat of your pants dirty in real research" by "first-hand observation". The ex-reporter advised:"Go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flop-houses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedowns;sit in Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesk".(McKinney 1966:71) On the margin of being both an outsider and insider, early sociological studies had a strong dose of humanitarianism and social conscience or "dust bowl empiricism". "Some of the students did follow a research style without understanding why the research was important, but the main work was theoretically guided."(Mullins 1973:45)

The communications theory of the "Chicago School" was implicit in their monographs in the Twenties. While there was a frequent reliance on the social dis-organization paradigm and skepticism of diverse urban life as somewhat pathological, deviant and disruptive and not

really akin to the nature of man, there was optimism on consensus via communication (Wirth 1948). Small feared urbanization threatened small folk society solidity, but Park saw the press as a positive facilitator of competition, conflict, and eventual accommodation and assimilation. There was a consensus on value ends such as health, law, economic well being, longevity and family stability.(Carey 1975:95-120.)

One interpretation of the notion of community and communications of Park, Dewey and Jane Addams is that it was fearful of big cities, if not anti-urban. (White 1962) All reacted to the "curse of urban bigness" and big organizations. They were alarmed at the breakdown of communications and community feeling and longed nostalgically and romantically for small, pastoral neighborhoods and small towns with less anonymity, more democracy, cooperation, spontaneity and intimate communication reflective of Dewey's "love for pre-industrial human relations". The interpretation continues that if Jefferson would divide counties into wards, Dewey would divide the city into immediate communities, Jane Addams into settlement houses and Park into primary groups.(White 1962:179)

Communication was seen as a kind of remedy and restoration for community. If only sound, "real" research could be applied through the settlement and research surveys made public through agencies and the press, then Darwinian progress and municipal reform would come. "Indeed, few reform movements that sought to extend social justice in the Progressive Era did not have at least one Hull-House grad or resident among its leaders." (Davis & McCree 1970:69) At the local level, campus professors took notions of scholarship into the political arena. One University of Chicago professor and his wife living at Hull-House "served as a watcher at the polls . . .(and) he was literally set upon and beaten up", Jane Addams recalled.(1910:225) "The reformers were convinced that public

opinion had to be aroused before any changes in institutional arrangements and procedures could be made".(Carey:148)

In seeking to understand the public opinion process, Park and others at the "Chicago School" saw the city as a laboratory and even a "beat" for roving sociologist-"reporters". Students"were encouraged in their work to explore the city on foot--to walk around various neighborhoods, occasionally talking to people they met and recording their observations afterward in detail . . . to get a feel for what was out there."(Carey:178) Small had urged the making of "sociological maps". Burgess asked students to write autobiographies including analytic description "to increase student sensitivity to dimensions of social life which could otherwise be missed". Park, a former student Leonard Cottrell recalled, "made a great point of the difference between knowledge about something and acquaintance with the phenomenon. This was one of the great thrusts in Chicago, because people had to get out if they wanted to study. . ."(Carey 1975:156)

Legacy for Public Affairs Journalism

The explicit techniques of the "Chicago School" rather than the more implicit theories of their work may well be their trademark and legacy. For them "The ideal sociologist was the one who knew the city. He or she discovered it, explored it, thought of ingenious ways to get it to reveal its secrets; and most important spent all of his or her time thinking about the city as well as learning about it".(Carey 1975:155) What better definition and mission for the urban journalist ?

Although the University of Chicago has not trained journalists and not long after the apex of the "Chicago School", University President Robert Hutchins denounced journalism schools as vocational and improper for the university, nevertheless both the "Chicago School" and its con-

current field counterpart Hull-House both had strong ties to journalism. The first University of Chicago catalogue describing the new sociology program spoke of training for social services, including the pulpit, the platform and the press! (Oberschall 1972:211) Lerner (1968) suggested that the "Chicago School" "was essentially journalistic". "American sociology", he observed, "really grew out of the womb of journalism. The only competing source for American sociology, besides journalism, was social work as done by Jane Addams and Jacob Riis and others. . . . It was precisely the muckrakers--(Lincoln) Steffens and (Ray Stannard) Baker and (Ida) Tarbell and Upton Sinclair--who really motivated young students to go into sociology rather than some other field."

The "Chicago School" was also identified with the literary naturalists (often former newsmen) whose novels were a kind of sociological research revealing experienced empirical reality and read by students at Chicago as "life history data" to make them familiar with "social worlds". The social messages of writers like Theodore Dreiser, Frank Norris, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson and John Dos Passos, and on the Chicago scene especially, Carl Sandburg, Nelson Algren and James T. Farrell reflected that realism. The "Chicago School" shared with the naturalists a common interest in cities, similar frames of reference, observation techniques, and overlap and interaction in membership in sociological and literary circles.(Carey 179)

A similar, common interchange took place among journalists, intellectuals and others who lived at, visited or were inspired by Hull-House and its public affairs agenda actively concerned with writers' freedom, challenge to established authority and support for the powerless. Likewise, "The Chicagoans'(School) links with the naturalist

tradition, combined with a strong populist streak predisposed them to be sympathetic and critical of the powerful".(Carey:111) Investigative journalist Ray Stannard Baker made the House a Chicago outpost for his muckraking. Resident journalists Sidney and Beatrice Webb, leaders of the Fabian Socialist Movement found the House "one continuous intellectual and emotional ferment", in her words; and Francis Hackett, Irish journalist and Chicago editorial writer and literary critic, said living there "was the first place in all America where there came to me a sense of the intention of democracy".(Hackett 1925). Others included Dorothea Moore, H.G. Wells, and Harriet Monroe, founder of the then rebellious and insurgent Poetry Magazine, early outlet for the works of Sandburg and Vachel Lindsay. (Davis & McCree 1970).

Residents recalled the House as a harbor and shelter for new and unpopular ideas for students, thinkers, writers, rebels: the iconoclastic ideas of architect Frank Lloyd Wright(whose mother was a House volunteer worker and sister of Unitarian Jenkin Lloyd Jones); the University of Chicago student resident M.L. MacKenzie King (later Canada's Prime Minister); the notions of editor Henry Demarest Lloyd, muckraking author of "Wealth Against Commonwealth"; the service of curmudgeon Harold Ickes, who defended House co-founder Ellen Gates Starr, arrested for picketing(Davis & McCree 104); the visits by attorney Clarence Darrow, defense lawyer in the Scopes Monkey trial propagated by the press and highlighted by University of Chicago professorial testimony.

Radical-activist journalists found aid and comfort from Jane Addams, herself a kind of participant-journalist whose early books were "an attempt to set forth a thesis supported by experience"(Addams 1910: xviii), and whose two major works were autobiographical conclusions.

One-third of her first 20 years manuscript appeared in/The American Magazine and a chapter in McClure's, divergent journals of the day receptive to uncustomary ideas. When Abraham Isaak, anarchist editor whom she had met at the House, was arrested with others after the McKinley assassination, Jane Addams visited him in jail and got him a lawyer, who released the innocent idealist.(Weinberg 1970:162-163.) And when British investigative journalist William Stead indicted the city during its glamourous 1893 World's Fair (as the new University of Chicago was sited nearby), he received support from Jane Addams in organizing a group which later developed into the Civic Federation following his expose, "If Christ Came to Chicago". Addams recalled(1910:122) how the roving participant journalist found Hull-House receptive:

> "I can vividly recall his visits to Hull-House, some of them between eleven and twelve o"clock at night,when he would come in wet and hungry from an investigation of the levee district, and,while he was drinking hot chocolate before an open fire, would relate in one of his curious monologues, his experience as an out-of-doors laborer standing in line without an overcoat for two hours in the sleet, that he might have a chance to sweep the streets; or his adventures with a crook, who mistook him for one of his own kind and offered him a place as an agent for a gambling house, which he promptly accepted."

Belief in the crusading power of the press was a tenet of the Chicago School and Jane Addams. "Dr Dewey has told us that the general intelligence is dormant with its communications broken and faint until it possesses the public as its medium.(Addams 1930:413) And while "The owners and editors shared the general outlook of the reformers. . . . ", (Carey 148), Jane Addams in her later years came to believe that newspapers "more and more tend to measure events, not by their real importance, but by their value as entertainment.(1930:295). She concluded that the non-local press was more receptive to new ideas "because the local newspapers were too timid and found their personal affairs were

too involved with the status quo of their own cities to deal with it (political corruption)."(1930:13).

While she was attracted to the potential of the non-conformist journalists, some in the commercial press considered her work naive and utopian, anti-religious, and sympathetic to radicals--unions, anarchists, and Bolshevistic socialists. Some at Hull-House felt "a hostility to reporters"(Davis & McCree 104), and near the end of her life frustrated over her larger world peace efforts, she remarked: "It seems strange in the light of later experiences that we so wholeheartedly believed in those days, that if we could only get our position before the public, we could find an overwhelming response." (Addams 1930) In the midst of the Depression as the "Chicago School" began to wane and as sociological know-how had not prevented the social and economic crises, Jane Addams seemed to return to her original idea of personal experience perhaps over objective science, when she wrote: "Doubtless our scientific advance depends more upon disinterested intellectual curiosity than upon any other human trait, but we may be faced at this moment with an opportunity to so revitalize our own experiences that we may score as never before in the very Art of Living itself." (Addams 1930:379).

Park and Other Prophets of Participant/Observation Revisited

After Jane Addams died in 1935 and after Park's last Ph.D. student Helen MacGill examined "The Human Interest Story in the Newspaper" in 1936, there was a generation of decline in the Chicago-style research. By the 1950s, the Chicago School "had exhausted itself" as "the intensive humanistically oriented study of the social worlds of the metropolis had come to an end. The older figures had disappeared one by one, and a new generation of sociologists were interested in quantitative methodol-

ogy and systematic theory. A few disciples of the traditional approach carried on in the shadows of the university or were scattered through the country."(Janowitz 1968:vii) "With a few notable exceptions, the natural history of particular approaches or ideas that was cultivated by Park has been abandoned", another sociologist observed.(Carey 1975:6) Still another noted that "little has been done by American sociologists in the field of communications" since the days of Park and Dewey, and he predicted that "It may be that we do not yet have a science of communication, but there will be no such science until we develop techniques to fit problems, and not, as so many of us are now doing, fit our problems to techniques that have been voted 'scientific' by members of the sociological establishment."(Duncan 1967:236-263).

Sociologist Alfred Lindesmith said students of the time had become "clever technicians, available for hire, flitting from one problem to another as research subsidies become available." "Scientific purity," he said, "is not assured by the negative act of refusing to participate in community affairs or of not committing oneself on questions of value or public morality." He saw involvement as "an excellent counter-irritant to the tendency of academicians to become over-subtle, over theoretical, over pretentious and over confident of their own verbal and numerical formulations."

The lethargic decade after World War II was not a time students were eager to carry on the vitality of the "Chicago School". Graduate students were neutral and analytic, impersonal and not evaluative, narrow and cautious, uninterested in "risks of intellectual freedom, passion and non-conformity" as they were "more in touch with 'scholarly opinion' about their subject than with their own feelings, intuitions and relevance"

(Solotaroff 1961: 490). Quantification appealed more than qualitative assessment of social problems. Sociologist C.W. Wright Mills (1959:105, 196) lamented the lack of sociological imagination, over-specialization, lack of passionate curiosity among "research technicians of abstracted empiricism" about the social worlds of which scholars were ignorant. Mills urged students to "use your life experience in your intellectual work".

The time was ripe for a resusitation of the "Chicago School" and Park's approach in particular because he "insisted that we search for causes rather than correlations, and that we concern ourselves with the meaning of acts, rather than with behavior in a limited sense." He was skeptical of quantification and favored "purposive observation rather than representative sampling" and he believed that "Only after problem formulation is it appropriate to speak of methods. Concepts and frame of reference are the most important part of method, but they are usually the by-products of research, rather than antecedent to it". Park sought "creative conceptualizations that will informally illumine observation" "His reluctance to engate in formalization, his avoidance of the language of deductive inquiry or hypothesis-testing, his tendency to generalize from anecdotes, all suggest a wholly inductive approach.(Turner 1967: xvii,xxi).

"Purpose observation" by scholars and involvement in relevant problem-solving came during the urban and civil rights movement in the mid-Sixties, when the causes of unrest in the ghetto and the realities of policy brought renewed interest in the quality of urban life and created a renewed urban journalism similar to that in the early days of Hull-House and the "Chicago School".(Geiger 1966, Burd 1973).

Whether influenced or inspired by the "Chicago School" and its tradition or merely coincidental and similar responses , journalism

and sociology were mixed once again, and there was great hope that once the communications media exposed issues, civic action(as in the early years of Hull-House) would resolve the problems. Public protests and pickets, official calls for action, and governmental commission reports bringing research to crises,all provided media material through its objective conduit similar to research from the "Chicago School" reaching social workers at the turn of the Century.

Revitalized urban concern made the journalists once again the agenda-setters providing early descriptive stages of research and policy. "The topics of it (Chicago School) dealt with are the topics which are still the staples of journalism today--street corner society, white collar crime, the ghetto, the gangs and so on."(Lerner 1968) Park's ideas were timely, from the immigrant ghetto press (Burd 1968a) to the morale of civic boosterism in the established press (Burd 1969a) and its re-action to urban estrangement (Burd 1969c).

The re-discovery and revival of the Chicago tradition may not have an exact date, but 1967 seems crucial for several reasons. That year, the University of Chicago re-published Park's papers, edited and introduced by sociologist Ralph Turner who said "Renewed attention to Park's own writings may help to restore some of the lost vitality" as his "dynamic ideas were rendered static in the hands of his followers".(Turner 1967:ix) The same year, Chicago re-published Morris Janowitz's classic 1955 study of "The Community Press in an Urban Setting--Social Elements of Urbanism" with a new postscript on "Communication and Community" by Scott Greer who noted that Janowitz had "rediscovered community within the metropolis and did so through the study of communication".(Greer/Janowitz 1967:245,247)

Also in 1967, the methodological relevance and "seminal thinking"

of Park was reactivated as one journalism researcher used the case study of Los Angeles to study "The News in Megalopolis"(Lyle 1967) and another suggested "Park Revisited: A New Look at 'The Natural History of the Newspaper'".(Gieber 1967). At the same time, regenerated interest in participant/observer studies in the Hull-House neighborhood in the early Sixties had produced by 1967 part of participant/interviewer Studs Terkel's best seller "Division Street: America", in which he highlighted a tape-recorded, self-portrait prologue and epilogue by residents protesting the "urban renewal" of the House and neighborhood for a campus of the University of Illinois in Chicago. The popular appeal of the substance of such participant/observer oral history was extended in later Terkel works like "Hard Times"(1970) and "Working"(1974) as people in their social worlds,often ignored by journalists and sociologists, told their own stories as a "cross-section of urban thought, using no one method or technique."(Terkel 1967)

While Terkel had called the University of Chicago sociology chairman Philip Hauser for advice on his study, at about the same time (1962-65), a University of Chicago student used participant/observation in the Hull-House area to study "The Social Order of the Slum"(Suttles 1968). That University of Chicago press book later won the 1969 C. Wright Mills Award by the Society for the Study of Social Problems. The work on age and family groups and communication devices, patterns and channels, was praised by Janowitz as in the "humanistic tradition of community research" with a "holistic and comprehensive understanding of the metropolitan condition". It was considered "a benchmark in the perfection of the techniques of participant/observation in a field setting" that "goes beyond the segmental findings of the sample survey and avoids reliance on

excerpts from tape-recorded interactions".(Janowitz 1968:vii-ix)

City/Community Renewal/Survival Studies Reveal Communication

Still earlier than the Terkel and Suttles works, the author of this essay, under similar Northwestern tutelage, examined the more specific Hull-House community renewal for the campus through content analysis and some 200 interviews in 1959-60, before his participant/observation in Chicago's city hall as a city planning information specialist helping prepare the plan, prior to living at Hull-House (1961-62) working with residents and surviving Jane Addams' associates to preserve an original renewal program and study communications and redevelopment.(Burd 1964)

At about the same time in the early Sixties, sociologist Herbert Gans had lived and studied as participant/observer in Boston's West End and found similar communications crises between government and urban neighborhoods.(Gans 1962;Greer 1965) Such community studies of neighborhoods under the duress of change, decline and possible disaster and destruction kept alive the "Chicago tradition" of scholarly involvement. Campus expansion--as around the University of Chicago(Fish 1974)--and other urban renewal was examined through critical or participant techniques (Birenbaum 1969;Worthy 1976; Hartman 1976) in the heart of big cities; while similar inquiries probed technological relocation and demise in small hamlets where observers lived among villagers (Mowat & DeVisser 1968) or as in oral history let residents' voices "document/specific death of all the abstract deaths mourned by the sociologists in their black treatises."(Baskin 1976) Whether threatened by urban planning (Jacobs 1961) or by natural forces (Allen 1976) or by some combination of forces(Stern 1976), the tone of such community studies, in the tradition of the "Chicago School" and Hull-House was emphasis on the qualitative impact of social change on those affected

more than on those making the studies, in contrast to much of the quantitative research emphasis after Addams and Park and before the mid-1960s.

Before the pivotal year of 1967, there had been other sporadic but significant work carrying on or reviving the "Chicago School". University of Chicago scholar R. Richard Wohl and Anselm Strauss re-examined the role of symbolism in cities (Wohl & Strauss 1958) in an essay which later was the introductory chapter in Strauss's "Images of American Cities" (1961) and preceeded his "Strategies for Discovering Urban Theory"(1967), in which he urged that urban theory be more than refined common sense or a reflection of the ideological commitments of sociologists.

Two provocative books and two essays in the early 1960s scrutinized urban communications: the speculative piece by political scientist Karl W. Deutsch "On Social Communication in the Metropolis" and from the field of design, Gyorgy Kepes's "Notes on Expression and Communication in the Cityscape", both in Daedalus (Winter 1961); and the landmark explorations of "A Communications Theory of Urban Growth" by Richard L. Meier (1962), and the Whites' "The Intellectual Versus the American City", which suggested that "Urban studies need clearer talk about communication. . ." in a 1962 book also published and stimulated by joint urban studies efforts of MIT and Harvard.(White 1962:235)

After Meier tried to "bring to the attention of the urbanists of all kinds the view of the city that a communications approach affords", (Meier 1962:preface), for the next 20 years, few interdisciplinary contexts escaped that message. The framework of architecture and landscape went beyond Wohl and Strauss to action and reportorial images and mental maps (Mandelbaum 1972; Clay 1973; Gould & White 1974). In the areas of economics (Theobald 1968); urban policy(Johnson 1968);city planning(Webber 1964,1973); journalistic practice (Rivers & Rubin 1968); there was concern about the impact of urban communications.

There was a flurry of conferences and workshops in the late 1960s on how journalists could deal with urban problems and these produced anthologies on urban communications , media and cities(e.g. Daly's 1968 collection from a University of Chicago conference; and Midura 1971). Journalism was criticized for inadequately preparing reporters to cover the cities (Hiebert 1968), and the University of Chicago developed a brief professional urban journalism program.(Gapp 1970). By 1969, both the role of the media in the quality of urban life (Burd 1969) reached the traditional urban journals, and urbanism was seriously re-explored as a communications variable among journalism educators.(Shaw 1969) Park would have been pleased at the summons for research on urbanization and communications (Lerner 1973) and an anthology on "Urban Communication:Survival in the City".(Arnold and Burley 1977). In the last five years alone, sociologists appeared to have resumed and dominated the study of communication and the making, manufacturing, deciding and discovery of news, sometimes with a participant/observer and urban approach.(Roshco 1975; Johnstone et al 1976; Tuchman 1977; Schudson 1978; Gans 1979;Fishman 1980)

Journalism scholars have been somewhat limited by quarrels over methodology, ideological bias tied to the media's self interests, and the related nostalgia for earlier rural life(Gans 1979)as well as the dilemma of decentralization and the inter-urban fragmentation.(Bogart 1965, 1974) However, the condition which frightens established media has encouraged research into the communications of "community"journalism --inner city, neighborhood, suburban, grassroots and small town-(Sim 1969; Lister 1975; Ward & Gaziano 1976). It raised questions about the nature and definitions of community (Burd 1979a; Wilkins 1980)increative conceptualization in the enlarged "city lab". The probing of potential for the smaller community reverberates the earlier visions of Dewey,Addams

and others associated with the "Chicago School" in its peak period.

Journalism Awakens Slowly to Qualitative Approach

Neither urban studies center nor schools of communication have fully embraced an urban focus (Burd 1978) although five years ago, it was predicted (Gross 1973:290) that "While none exist today, in the next few years, universities will offer courses and doctorates in urban communications". Relatively little help comes from journalism texts on how to do qualitative, participant/observer research and although the tradition exists longer in academic sociology, "Yet, strangely, few instructions have been available indicating exactly how qualitative observation and analysis are performed."(Lofland 1971: vii; See also Webb et al 1966; McCombs et al 1975;Bogdan & Taylor 1975). As for the creation of new ideas, "Our literature on methods devotes hundreds of pages to the rules for testing concepts, few or none to the generation of them".(Greer 1969:vii-viii).)

However, there are signs the urban and qualitative tradition of the "Chicago School" vintage may permeate established practice in journalism education. The urban emphasis was accented in the founding panel for the creation of a new qualitative studies division of the Association for Journalism Education.(Burd 1975)It hopes to utilize "those aspects of the social sciences which have a humanistic orientation and employ humanistic methods to the understanding of man and his environment. The same year, the association was reminded of Park's contemporary relevance (Belman 1975), and also in 1975, the Association for Humanist Sociology was formed to deal with "real life" problems and encourage ethical scholarly responsibility to improve the quality of life rather than merely understand social reality as an end in itself.

The possibilities of sociologists and journalists to make greater use of qualitative and interdisciplinary approaches (Burd 1976) has been bolstered by a now accepted critical role for journalism researchers (Strentz et al 1974); and the academic legitimacy of teaching personal, active, sensory, "existential journalism" (Merrill 1977) to get beyond the surface of news through involved, free and authentic journalists rebelling against standardized, corporate mass media. This emerging tradition is supported by the stabilized pattern of participant, "immersion" New Journalism of the Sixties with outlets in the alternative underground press and continuing journalism reviews and other organs for the new muckrakers.(Downie 1976)

In so-called Establishment Journalism, there is now frequent acceptance and use of the urban and environmental critic who not only observes urban life, but evaluates its quality.(Burd 1979b). There is also the continuing practice of gathering news through both undercover and identified personal reportorial experience in places like mental hospitals, schools and prisons, welfare agencies and nuclear plants, and in some cases reporters become part of the news.(MacDougall 1968) Furthermore, practicing journalists have used personal participation to reveal the communications process in news-gathering.(Friendly 1967; Talese 1969; Crouse 1972; Plimpton 1975).

The qualitative research tradition and communications theory of the "Chicago School" is no longer dormant. Communication researchers have been reminded that Park "has been overlooked until recently" and "must be considered a founder of the sociological study of mass communications and public opinion and the field's first theorist" since mass communications "has had few philosophers and descriptive researchers

who, like Park, can take a broad view of society and lay out large territories for theoretical development and research".(Frazier & Gaziano 1979:1) There are also signs communications researchers are seeking to integrate "soft", observational, non-mathematical methods with more systematic, quantitative approaches and an admission by quantitative scholars of past "methodological provincialism" in studies and theory-building. (ICA 1979)

A new turn to ethnology and other naturalistic, participant-observer methodologies (Lull 1979) may provide new insights "not otherwise obtainable" and "uncover textures of meanings" elusive to less intensive and traditional empirical methods of survey research and experiments. One prediction is that communications researchers may become "far less enthusiastic" about traditional quantitative methods as "artificial settings and abstract typologies take on new dimensions of irrelevancy" since the participant/observer, naturalistic"approach to study human communication has superior value".(ICA 1979)

The qualitative tradition may have come full circle in American communications as sociological and journalistic history repeat themselves as the "Chicago experience" and its legacy is re-examined, re-assessed and re-appraised. The living link bridged between campus and community and between research and action by figures like Dewey, Addams and Park may yet hold.

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